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NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Hidden Cost of Public Power

IRA U. COBLEIGH and ROBERT A. GILBERT

The Age of Roosevelt

FRANK S. MEYER

Notes on a Liberal Love Feast

M. STANTON EVANS

Articles and Reviews by ..... C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS
L. BRENT BOZELL · ANTHONY LEJEUNE · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM
WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. · REVILO OLIVER · RICHARD M. WEAVER

For the Record

A special Senate committee last week published a report criticizing the government's foreign aid program. "The most effective way of helping other peoples to improve their levels of living," says the report, "is through private investment, not government aid." . . . Senator Paul Douglas warns that the Communists probably will make a new effort to infiltrate Midwestern unions when they move their party headquarters to Chicago next year. It's rumored that one victim of the move might be John Gates, editor of the Communist Daily Worker, now published in New York.

Senator Pat McNamara and Representative James Roosevelt are co-sponsoring a bill to cut the work week from 40 to 35 hours in enterprises engaged in interstate commerce. . . . There's a good chance that right-to-work legislation will be enacted in Delaware this year.

Senator Knowland is coming under bitter attack in Liberal circles for his criticism of the UN. Palmer Hoyt, publisher of the Denver Post, says Knowland should be fired as a U.S. delegate to the UN. Senator Neuberger adds that if such criticism persists "the UN may disappear as an effective potential instrument for world peace." . . . A resolution has been introduced in Congress calling for an annual United States week (we have a UN week already).

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association says New Jersey wants no help from the federal government for school construction. Testifying before the House Education and Labor Committee, the group pointed out that New Jersey would have to pay out $2.33 for every dollar received under one proposed bill and $1.41 under a second. . . . Speaker Sam Rayburn delivered himself of some straight talk on proposed budget cuts the other day. "The government is big and is going to stay big. Taxes are high and are going to stay high. You can talk all you want about cutting the budget by 5 billion. But it just isn't going to be done. . . . "

Dean Clarence Manion has formally announced that the Interim Committee for Independent Political Action, which he heads, will organize in the 48 states and present its own Presidential candidate in 1960. Manion attacked the leftward trend of the Republican and Democratic parties.

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A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● NATIONAL REVIEW has learned that a prominent American writer, associated with a prominent American magazine, has reported that he was assaulted at his home by three Chinese a month ago, and left hanging by his ankles. The only explanation of the assault is political: the writer is publicly identified as an anti-Chinese-Communist. Deep mystery surrounds the episode, which at this writing has not appeared in print, and no progress has been made in identifying the assailants. The question arises whether the Red Chinese have embarked upon a program of terrorization in this country; and if so, what steps we will take to guard ourselves against them.

● The Communists—to paraphrase Mr. Noel Coward—do it. We—to continue the paraphrase—do it. And now—so runs the good news from Tokyo—the Japanese will do it; so that soon perhaps everyone will be doing it. What? Why, grant foreign aid, which the Tokyo government has decided to do in Laos and Cambodia. The aid, like most Japanese imitations, will be on a small and delicate scale ($4.25 million this year). But it will, we are promised, grow, which suggests the happy thought that the U.S. might one day get onto the list of recipients.

● Indiana has passed a "right-to-work" law, which brings the number of states with such legislation on their books to eighteen. The accession of Indiana to the anti-compulsory-unionization ranks, however, is worth all the rest, for it is the first primarily industrial state to revolt against the excesses of the labor bosses. Significantly, what tipped the balance in the Indiana legislature was the wounding of a baby girl by gunfire in a labor dispute. That sparked the indignation which gave the bill a majority.

● In a continuing revolt against the excessive centralism of the Jakarta regime and the Sukarno plan for an authoritarian government with Communist participation, a combined military-civilian group has seized control of four provinces of East Indonesia. This region, which includes Celebes, the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda islands (among them the fabled Bali and Timor), is strongly religious—both Christian and Mohammedan—and anti-Communist. Lieut. Col. Ventje Sumual and a fifty-one-member council, with views similar to those of the dissident movement in Sumatra, demand greater local autonomy in both political and economic affairs, and an end to President Sukarno's attempts to bring the Communists into the Government. The mounting Indonesian struggle, in which Sukarno leads the pro-Communist, anti-Western and anti-democratic forces, shows once more the vanity of Washington's current notion that enemies can be metamorphosed into friends if the President and his official family give them a press-agent style buttering-up on a trip to this country. It will be recalled that Mr. Sukarno was a recent and fulsomely honored visitor to our shores.

● Nehru has offended the Hindus by saying he did not think more of a cow than a horse. Friends of the Hindus can only counsel patience. Everyone knows about Nehru's old habit of carrying neutralism too far.

● If a candidate for Congress from the New York City area wants to get the vote of the subway riders who are waiting in long lines at rush hours these days to buy tokens, he might promise them he'd add a fifteen-cent piece to the coinage. Incidentally, the prospective congressman would be bringing home to Eisenhower budgeteers that inflation is something which begins (but does not end) with the ruination of the nickel.

● Dr. Harry Slochower has now resigned under pressure from the municipal college system of New York City. But the Supreme Court's decision that no law is valid which provides for automatic expulsion of a schoolteacher for pleading the Fifth Amendment remains with us. In March 1953 a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations called Dr. Julius Hlaverty as a witness. He proved uncooperative, to say the least. The Committee asked if he had belonged to the Communist Party ("It is improper for you to inquire about my youthful beliefs"); whether he held that a Communist should be allowed to teach ("If I wanted a good carpenter, I wouldn't ask a man his opinion"); whether it is wrong to belong to an international conspiracy aimed at overthrowing the government of the United States ("I don't know. If it is wrong it should be written into law"); whether he had tried to recruit his students for the Party ("I plead the Fifth Amendment"). Dr. Hlaverty has been awarded $27,000 in back pay and reinstated in the New York public school system as Chairman of Mathematics at DeWitt Clinton High School. We suggest that the Board of Education exercise its power to dismiss an employee for "conduct unbecoming a teacher."

● The newly formed Citizens Foreign Relations Committee whose sponsors include such proven anti-

Communists as Alfred Kohlberg, Governor J. Bracken Lee, Charles Edison, Adolphe Menjou, Frederick G. Reinicke, E. Merrill Root, General Albert C. Wedemeyer and General Charles A. Willoughby, to name only a few, has proposed we withdraw recognition of the Soviet Union and its satellites. We must, a statement from the Committee says, take the battle over to the enemy, "wage unremitting psychological warfare against Communist regimes, including aid to effective anti-Communist exiles, underground and resistance groups." In short, "do to them what they are doing to us." Temporary Committee headquarters are in Washington, at Suite 318 Woodward Building, 15th and H Streets.

● American foreign policy, let's face it, reels on from triumph to triumph. First Ethiopia (as we noted two weeks ago) announces its approval of the United States; and now Tunisia, whose premier has formally "adhered" to the "Western democratic bloc," renounced "neutrality," and come within a hair of saying that he will accept some American foreign aid.

● "Proven Names Among Authors Planning Books for Spring Release," headlines the *New Haven Register;* and the eye travels hungrily down the page to see what are these literary feasts the publishers have in store for us. Easily, too; for there are photographs of four of the "proven" authors: first Robert Graves; then William Faulkner; below Faulkner, Steinbeck; then, beside Steinbeck, that old perennial coterie writer among the nation's established authors, Alger Hiss, whose select audience in Moscow is at last to be enlarged.

Up From Behind

The income tax may not be the root of all evil, but it is certainly, in its present form, the proximate cause of a great many social and political ills. Notwithstanding, it has long been clear that neither the Executive Branch of the government nor the Congress has had any inclination to do anything about it. Moreover, familiarity with the writings and sayings of the nation's wisemen gives the impression that nobody except a few right-wing fanatics has any *desire* to do anying about it.

A few right-wing fanatics and thirty-two of the forty-eight state legislatures, it turns out!

Conditioned as we are to submit to a world the rules of which are made by the Establishment, we cannot conceal our astonishment—or our excitement—at the news that came in last week from Idaho. The Idaho Legislature became the thirty-second state legislature to endorse a proposed constitutional convention calling for a ceiling on the income tax. The legislatures of two-thirds of the states having spoken, Congress is obliged, under Article V of the Constitution, to call a convention which will have the power of submitting a formal Amendment to the states for ratification.

The front-runner of the various proposed resolutions is Senator Dirksen's, which provides a ceiling of 25 per cent on individual income taxes, allows higher taxes in times of emergency, but stipulates that there must never be a disparity greater than fifteen percentage points between the top and the bottom rate.

There will be a lot of legal stalling, challenges of the validity of the action of some of the states, confusion, and above all a deafening production by Liberal publicists: but the fact remains, the issue has been joined, and we may see, in the next months, a demonstration of the marvelous flexibility of that marvelous political instrument, the Constitution of the United States.

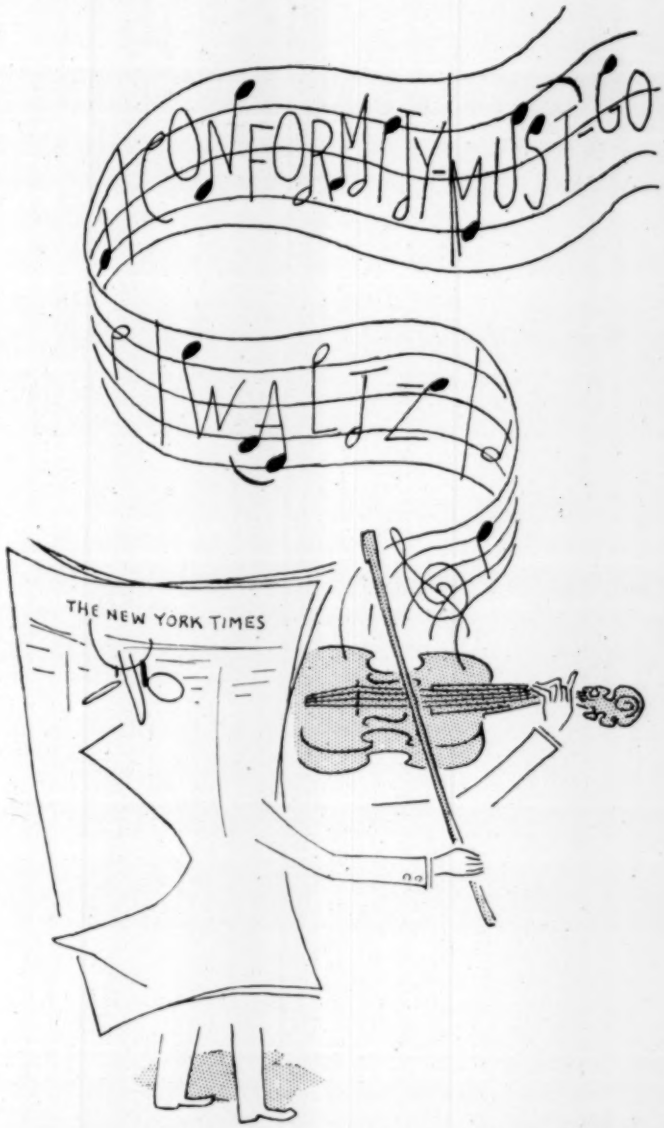
Preface to a Mideast Plan

Once the President had submitted his request for congressional approval of United States anti-Communist action in the Middle East, a favorable vote was inevitable. No matter what doubts individual Congressmen had—and there were and are many doubts —a turndown by Congress would have been generally interpreted, both here and abroad, as a refusal to face a major Communist threat, and a rejection of the idea that the Middle East is a proper sphere of American concern. So the President now has his vote. The resolution, for all its vagueness, has expressed the nation's determination to stand up to Communist aggression in the Middle East as elsewhere, and has made public acceptance of our share of responsibility for that crossroads of the World Island.

We rejoice, however, that Congress refused to give an automatic stamp on Presidential order, and we regret that a congressional majority failed to make the separation, demanded by some Liberal as well as conservative members, between the military and economic sections of the President's proposal. The Administration dragged in the blank check economic authorization, which would quite probably have been rejected on its own merits, as a kind of rider to the politico-military affirmation.

Nevertheless, the prolonged debate, the proffered amendments (some of them adopted), and the sizable opposition vote all served to bring out both the seriousness of the Mideast problem and the inadequacy of any specific Administration plans so far brought forth to meet it. Actually the resolution now adopted

is not a plan but only a preface to a plan. The Administration gets a green light. Does it know where it wants to go?



Kreuttner

"To continue Eastland as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee would be not only Unthinkable, but Anti-Sulzberger!"

Watching Out for Our Neighbors

The public passion is unpredictably aroused. It may be the recall of General MacArthur, or the murder of the wife of a Cleveland doctor—or the proposal to fluoridate the water supply. New York last week literally seethed over the issue, and reports on who had scored what point for or against fluoridation before New York's Board of Estimate got around like news of homers during a world series.

NATIONAL REVIEW published almost a year ago a thoughtful and extended analysis of the fluoridation controversy by Miss Priscilla Buckley, which reads pretty well today. It adds up to the following: 1) the physical effects of fluoridation are not definitely established. 2) fluorides can be taken by individual families economically and efficiently, with the result that those parents who want to give their children fluoridated water can do so without imposing fluoridated water upon those who do not.

It is for this last reason, primarily, that the fluoridation issue has taken on political overtones. Democratic political theory is generally conceded as granting to the majority the right to force the minority to take steps to guard against communicating contagious diseases. But bad teeth are not contagious, and the question now arises whether the majority can force the minority to take measures to (allegedly, since the data are incomplete) improve their teeth against their will. And whether they can do so even when it is feasible for the majority, acting individually, to drink all the fluorides they want, without putting the stuff in the city water supply.

It seems to us that there is, in the fluoridationists' rhetoric, a little of the same busybodiness about other people's welfare that has led in the past years to much objectionable legislation, and to the diminishing rights of minorities. So: we're against public fluoridation, which is not to say we couldn't give fluorides to our own children.

Unwarranted Conclusion

General Norstad did not illuminate the proposed reduction of British forces in Germany by reminding the British that they stand committed to maintain them at present levels. Indeed the British do stand committed; indeed nothing has happened since the commitment was made—or rather nothing of which General Norstad in his present capacity should take cognizance—that warrants revision at this time; indeed the British "strategic" argument that the withdrawal will not weaken NATO is (as the London *Economist* puts it) "obvious self-deception," and must be exposed as that. Norstad, in short, needs the present complement of British troops, is entitled to them, and should and must insist on them unless otherwise instructed from Washington.

But these considerations hardly scratch the surface of the problem. For, if the alternative to the withdrawal of British troops is the speedy return to power of a determinedly socialist Labor Party, committed to complete the impoverishment of Britain as surely as Britain is committed to maintain present troop levels in Germany, then the British would have to withdraw even more troops from the Continent. That way lies the predictable withdrawal of *all* British troops from Germany.

The relevant considerations, in other words, seem to be these: the British economy is in dire straits, and will continue to be, until basic industries are returned to private ownership; until the British people are willing to content themselves with the social services they can actually pay for; and until the habits and prejudices and economic heresies generated by decades of anti-capitalist propaganda are dissipated. The British people must, to quote the *Economist* again, learn to work like the Germans, save like the Swiss, and compete like the Americans. And if they are ever going to learn, it will have to be before the next general election, and from Teachers Thorneycroft and Sandys.

If Thorneycroft and Sandys really mean business, American conservatives must wish them well. If they must retrench their NATO commitments, a way must be found to let them do it. But only if they mean business; only if this economic palliative is accompanied by organic economic reform of the kind that will render Britain, once again, a powerful ally against the common enemy.

Wings for Nasser?

The critique by our esteemed colleague, Miss Freda Utley, of NATIONAL REVIEW's position on the Suez affair, published in our last issue, rests on three propositions: 1) Premier Nasser's takeover of the Suez Canal Company was a lawful act of "nationalization"; 2) Israel is bad; 3) Nasser is good—an Arab analogue of Chiang Kai-shek. We here comment briefly on each.

1. NATIONAL REVIEW has not based its condemnation of Nasser on the abstract juridical propriety of his "nationalization" of the Canal Company—as Miss Utley, leaning here on the mushy rhetoric of socialism, prefers to label his arbitrary and unilateral seizure of property not his. It may be that the Hague Tribunal would find, if the question were submitted to it, that Nasser's move could be reconciled with the prevailing norms of international law. (We add that, despite the Tribunal, we would continue to be opposed to "nationalization," by Egypt, Mexico, Israel, the Soviet Union, *or* the United States.) But such considerations in no way alter the unchallengeable fact, omitted in Miss Utley's account, that Nasser, by taking over the Canal Company, flatly violated the solemnly contracted international engagements of the Egyptian government, engagements repeatedly affirmed and reaffirmed from 1869 to as late as 1954, under which Egypt, in return for her concessions, had received and accepted substantial economic, political and military payment.

The original concession of the Suez Canal Company was for ninety-nine years, to end November 17, 1968, and it is on this basis that all arrangements have been negotiated since the opening of the Canal in 1869. Though the Egyptian government during the intervening years changed from Turkish province to British protectorate to independent kingdom to what Nasser apparently terms a republic, and though all of these Egyptian governments renegotiated some terms of the original contract, the expiration date was never altered. It was not changed in the Constantinople Convention signed in 1888 by the major powers, nor by the Anglo-Egyptian 1936 treaty of alliance, nor by the 1947 declaration of the newly independent Egyptian government, nor by its 1949 revised agreement with the Suez Canal Company, nor by the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1954, following King Farouk's ouster, under which Britain pledged to evacuate her troops from the Canal zone, and duly did.

The contractual and juridical agreements, one way or the other, are of course independent of the question, entirely ignored by Miss Utley, of submitting Europe's basic strategic necessities to the will of a demagogic and unreliable dictator.

2. The sins of Israel are irrelevant to NATIONAL REVIEW's case, and to Miss Utley's. NATIONAL REVIEW has never hidden its opposition to political Zionism and its condemnation of the aggressions by which Israel was established and has been maintained. From the beginning of the Suez crisis, we have maintained that Israel must withdraw from all territories overrun in Sinai.

3. In her heroic portrait of Premier Nasser in the historic robes of Chiang Kai-shek, Miss Utley has perhaps let her feelings run away with her pen. In her ardent denial that Nasser is a "Communist puppet," Miss Utley almost suggests that Khrushchev is an Egyptian puppet. We deem it ludicrous to think of Nasser "using" the Soviet Union. Does Miss Utley find that a) the Cairo broadcasts to Asia and Africa (indistinguishable from Soviet broadcasts to the same areas), b) Nasser's attacks on the Mideast nations friendly to the United States and his call for an anti-Western pan-Arab empire led by himself, c) the fanatic anti-Western, anti-Christian indoctrination given by Cairo University to its thousands of student-agents, d) the Egyptian shipment of terrorists, agitators and weapons to Algeria, e) the Egyptian-sponsored propaganda against the American air bases —that these and similar acts qualify Nasser as a staunch ally for the United States?

The fact is that Nasser is an enemy not only to the West but to his own country, which his irresponsible policies are driving to bankruptcy and collapse. His seizure of the Suez Canal Company has not

merely hastened the disintegration, but has guaranteed that the Western powers will rush the new pipelines and tankers that will reduce the Canal to secondary importance, and thereby deprive Egypt of her prime economic asset and political lever.

Let Sleeping Witches . . .

There's a fellow up in Boston we'd like to meet. We don't know his name, only that he turned up at a public hearing held recently on a resolution the Massachusetts General Court was considering to exonerate Ann Pudeator and five other of the Salem witches who are still carried on the state rolls as condemned and duly executed felons.

This fellow was against the exoneration. First place, he pointed out, Massachusetts was a British colony in 1692 when Tituba, the half-witted slave girl, and 19 others were hanged as witches; so if anyone is to go about exonerating the witches, it should be Queen Elizabeth II and not the State of Massachusetts. Secondly . . . well, to be honest, the newspaper account we read of the hearing dropped it right there. But we know what he had in mind. He must have been thinking, poor young Ann Pudeator and her friends paid with their lives for being witches, and is it human, after all these years, to strip them of their only claim to fame? And then—at this point he was shown the door—are we *absolutely* sure they weren't witches after all? Nobody seems to want to discuss it.

To vindicate their memory, NATIONAL REVIEW is preparing a brief for the consideration of Her Majesty, upholding the verdict of the Court.

Easy, Max

Mr. Alfred Kohlberg is terrified. So are we. He writes us that he spotted humor in the *Daily Worker,* and what could be more terrifying than humor in the *Daily Worker?*

What Mr. Kohlberg spotted was a column by Alan Max on Mr. George Metesky, better known as the Mad Bomber. The column was not what you might think: it didn't show how Metesky was a depression baby who eked out a living sweeping chimneys and watched his mother die of consumption waiting in line in freezing Danbury weather for a bowl of soup—with the result that he took, quite naturally, to distributing bombs here and there in Greater New York. No: Mr. Max made a political point, all right, but made it in an unusual way.

The Point about Metesky, says Max, is that he eluded the police for sixteen years. The reason he eluded the police is because of his appearance. The Mad Bomber "wears gold-rimmed spectacles. He wears a somber blue suit with pencil stripe. His shirt and tie are neat to the last millimeter and his shoes have that shine—not over-glossy—which reveals their wearer to be a man of good taste. If you met such a man walking down Forty-second Street, I insist it would be impossible to tell him from . . ." (here we go) "one of our atom-bomb statesmen." Mr. Max proceeds to discuss the resemblances between Mr. Metesky and other mad bombers, e.g., Admiral Strauss, Secretary Quarles, and Harry Truman. And concludes, "The question is not how did George Metesky escape being taken into custody in all those years. The real question is how did he manage to escape being taken into the President's cabinet?"

Easy does it, Comrade Max! Humor is a right-wing petty-bourgeois deviation, and many a colleague of yours has ended in the cellars of the Lubianka for such a flippant approach to the Fate of Mankind and the Plight of the Peace-Loving Masses.

In our issue of February 23 we deplored the fact, revealed in the Communist journal *New World Review,* that a number of distinguished Americans (we were not referring to the usual fellow-travelers) had sent greetings to a Chinese Communist committee planning a meeting in Red China to "honor" Benjamin Franklin. In that list, we included the editor of the *Saturday Evening Post.* We now learn that the *New World Review* published two separate lists. One list designated those Americans who had sent "greetings," another those who had sent "regrets." The name of Mr. Ben Hibbs was in the latter category, and we apologize to him for our inadvertent misrepresentation.

Our Contributors: IRA U. COBLEIGH ("The Hidden Cost of Public Power") is President of the Wright and Cobb Literage Co. He is also a financial feature writer for the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* and the author of several books, the latest being *How to Gain Security and Financial Independence.* ROBERT A. GILBERT *(Ibid.)* has been in finance for more than a quarter century. He is a director of the Investors League, and has recently been associated on various projects with the internationally known economist Dr. Alexander Sachs. ANTHONY LEJEUNE, who has taken over the late F. A. Voigt's "Letter from London," is Deputy Editor of the outstanding British weekly, *Time and Tide.* M. STANTON EVANS ("Notes on a Liberal Love Feast"—see "The Ivory Tower") is Assistant Editor of *Human Events* and former Assistant Editor of the *Freeman.* He will be remembered by NATIONAL REVIEW readers for his "The Liberal Against Himself" (December 22, 1956).

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

The Senate Contemplates the Constitution

(NATIONAL REVIEW has dutifully followed the daily press accounts of the Senate's "Great Debate" on Middle East policy; we have also kept an eye on the debate itself, at the committee hearings and on the Senate floor—just in case. Here is Mr. Bozell's report. —THE EDITORS)

There are, pretty clearly, a couple of things the Senate debate on the Eisenhower doctrine was *not* about. It was not, for example, about how the U.S. should react to overt Communist aggression in the Middle East. Not a single Senator disputed the necessity of meeting armed force with armed force should the Kremlin give marching orders in the area. Nor, beyond a few acid comments about its superfluity, was there any opposition to the Administration's request that Congress give Moscow a formal warning to that effect. Therefore, one can safely guess that had the Senate been presented with a resolution declaring, merely, that the U.S. considers overt Communist aggression in the Middle East a *casus belli*, it would have acted promptly, probably unanimously. But this was not to be, for the Administration had insisted on encumbering the resolution with provisions involving financial aid, and the constitutional relationship between the legislative and executive branches. Such issues produced sharp, frequently violent dissents; and some unfortunate consequences. Since the Senate was divided on the resolution as a whole, it could not, and thus the U.S. did not, give an unambiguous warning to the Soviet Union. The Administration's demands reflected a colossal misjudgment of the attitudes and temper of the Senate on the one hand, and of the President's influence on the other. And they all but destroyed the resolution's "psychological impact"—which is the main thing, the Administration kept saying all along, the resolution was designed to produce.

Nor was this a debate about future policy in the Middle East—although one might have been provoked had the Administration dropped even the darkest hint about its plans. Mr. Dulles regretted he could give no clues. The Administration, naturally, does not want to "tip its hand" to the enemy. And in the second place, the Secretary said, the Administration *has* no plans at the moment. The Richards mission, he explained, has been given the assignment of discovering "projects" for military and economic spending, and as soon as the mission returns from the Middle East, the Administration will have a clearer picture of what it means to do. But first, of course, the Richards mission will have to *go* to the Middle East, and Mr. Dulles' interrogators got just nowhere in trying to discover why the Richards mission was still in Washington.

The real issues in the debate, as it turned out, had very little to do with the Middle East as such. One of them —and no one had the slightest right to predict it would be raised, even implicitly—was whether "confidence" in the leadership of Dwight Eisenhower should be the Senate's foreign policy. The issue was, of course, never stated in so many words; but it was there, and for the first time in the President's regime.

Senator Smith of New Jersey, speaking for the affirmative side, got in the first licks: "The greatest military leader of this generation, certainly one of the greatest in our history, is now dedicated . . . to peace in the world. The need for full and unconditional support by the Congress of President Eisenhower at this critical period rises above all thought of partisanship, or differences over mere phraseology [of the joint resolution!]." In times past—e.g., prior to the Geneva conference, and during last year's debate on aid to Tito—that kind of thing was the signal for a Who Trusts Ike Most free-for-all, in which a sizable number of Democrats participated quite as shamelessly as Republicans. And, except for one or two hardy souls, even those who opposed Mr. Eisenhower on the issue in question saw fit to preface their dissents with vigorous disclaimers of any lack of faith in the President's leadership.

This time, however, no one rose to top the Senator from New Jersey, or even, for that matter, to second his motion. Supporters of the resolution grimly confined their remarks to the merits of the measure, and proceeded to treat the President almost impersonally. They apparently believed it safer to take for granted confidence in Mr. Eisenhower than to urge it as a point of argument. And for good reason. A significant number of the resolution's opponents began flailing the proposal in terms that were unmistakably tantamount to a repudiation of the President's leadership: if the Eisenhower men had followed Smith's lead, and hauled the "confidence" issue into the open, some Presidential blood might well have been on the floor before the debate was over.

The "revolt" against Mr. Eisenhower was waged by a curious triple alliance of GOP right-wingers (Jenner, Malone, McCarthy), Liberal Democrats (Fulbright, Humphrey, Mansfield, Morse) and Southern conservatives (Ellender, Ervin, Johnston, Long, Talmadge). The foundations here are obviously broad enough to spell real trouble for the President in the days ahead. The spirit of rebellion can be contagious, especially when it is sanctioned by the mail from back home. As it was in the case of the foreign aid issue.

But the "Great Debate" was also about the U.S. Constitution. In fact, it was primarily about the momentous constitutional questions raised by the President's request for advance authority to send U.S. armed forces into action; and if the daily press wasn't impressed by the importance of the issue, it might at least have told the U.S. public that the Senate was—and that to its very great credit. What the Senate did about the issue is another matter.

The various historical views as to what war-making powers the Constitution gives to Congress, on the one hand, and to the President, on

(*Continued on page* 258)

The Hidden Cost of Public Power

Who pays for "cheap" power produced by tax-exempt federal, state and municipal plants? The answer is, the taxpayers, not only of the areas served but of the whole country

IRA U. COBLEIGH and
ROBERT A. GILBERT

The City of Memphis, Tennessee, is building a municipal power plant. It is also, incidentally, providing its taxpayers with an object lesson in the comparative cost of public and private power. The plant will not be finished and in operation until 1959, but already its collective owners are beginning to realize that it is going to mean higher rates for Memphis consumers and higher taxes for the citizens of Tennessee and other states.

For some years Memphis has been getting its electricity from the federally subsidized Tennessee Valley Authority, which supplies virtually all of Tennessee and parts of six other states with power, generally at less than the cost of production (with the federal taxpayers of course paying the difference). As everyone knows, TVA was formed primarily to improve navigation, assure better flood control and provide irrigation in the Tennessee Valley. The sale of electricity generated by the water power developed through this gigantic enterprise was secondary to its main purpose. But the TVA also supplies power to the Tennessee installations of the Atomic Energy Commission. And the Commission's needs have expanded, as have those of Memphis. The power generated by TVA's hydroelectric plants became insufficient. Therefore TVA some time ago began to invest in coal-fueled steam generating plants; and in the past five years it has expanded its investment in such plants from $18 million to $800 million.

But Congress took a dim view of this expansion. TVA, a majority of the members felt, was outgrowing its intended bounds; further power needs in the Tennessee area should be supplied by privately owned companies.

Therefore, in November 1954 the AEC entered into a contract with the Mississippi Valley Generating Company (MVGC), 79 per cent of whose common stock is owned by Middle South Utilities and 21 per cent by the Southern Company. This agreement became known as the Dixon-Yates contract, and was bitterly (and successfully) fought by the "public power" lobby. By its terms MVGC was obligated to build a 650,000-kilowatt generating plant at a cost of $107,250,000, and to have it in operation sometime this year. This plant would have removed the AEC power load from TVA, which thus could have continued to service the City of Memphis. The arrangement was inexpensive and offered an ideal solution to the problems of all involved. But the public power lobby shouted that it was an attempt to destroy TVA; that a "conflict of interest" was involved; and that the contract should be cancelled.

Subsidized by Taxpayers

Then suddenly, as the result of skillful political maneuvering, the City of Memphis on July 11, 1955 decided to build its own power plant, and informed TVA that it would not renew its power contract, due to expire in June 1958. President Eisenhower thereupon cancelled the Dixon-Yates contract.

Memphis went ahead with its building plans. Even if its plant opens at the scheduled time it will not start generating electricity until February 1959, and then at only 62 per cent of capacity, as compared with 98 per cent anticipated for this year by the cancelled MVGC plant.

It was not until the City of Memphis began to look for the funds to finance its new plant that its taxpayers began to glimpse the shape of things to come. Last December Memphis floated a bond issue in New York. It sold $163,245,000 worth of bonds, and the cost was high. The bulk of these bonds bear a coupon rate of 4.40 per cent. The net cost of the money to the City of Memphis was 4.47 per cent, as compared with the 3.5 per cent MVGC would have had to pay for the money to build the Dixon-Yates plant at the time it was ready to begin construction.

Experts report that the cost, installed, of the privately built plant, including some transmission facilities, would have been $165 per kilowatt, whereas that of the Memphis plant, which will have an 812,000 kilowatt capacity, will be $200 per kilowatt.

And power rates? Memphis would have obtained power delivery from MVGC at 3.98 mills per kilowatt hour. Deliveries from its own plant, on the other hand, will start at 4.48 mills per kilowatt hour. Rates may have to be raised later if additions to the plant become necessary. MVGC, on the other hand, was willing to guarantee level rates for twenty-five years, except for adjustments made necessary by increases in the cost of fuel.

So the citizens of Memphis will inaugurate their new plant by paying more, not less, for their electricity. Moreover, they will bear a load of $169,523,280 in interest payments on their $163,245,000 of electric revenue bonds before these are all retired in 1992. Nor is that all. The MVGC plant would have paid regular federal and state taxes, but the municipally owned plant will not. The taxpayers of Memphis and all Tennessee, as well as the other states, will, in effect, be subsidizing the Memphis power plant in the amount of those unpaid taxes.

One expert reports that over a

period of thirty-five and a half years —the life of the Memphis bonded debt—the following concealed costs must be reckoned with in determining just what society is paying for this municipal power plant:

1. Extra capital costs per kilowatt, compared with what the same plant would have cost if built by the investor-owned Mississippi Valley Generating plant	$28,360,000
2. Higher electric rates at $1,700,000 per annum	60,350,000
3. Taxes lost (State and Federal)	104,725,000
4. Power production lost, due to delays	40,950,000
5. Interest saving lost due to delays in financing	57,934,580
Total concealed cost	$292,319,580
Stated municipal power plant costs plus some transmission lines	163,555,000
Total real cost	$455,874,580

References for exact calculations of these figures are given in the table below.

A bill for $455,874,580 for a $163,245,000 municipal power plant is really something! These figures may seem like fantastic exaggerations, but the loss to society is indeed stupendous.

Such is the plight of the people of Memphis as they embrace public power.

This current example of the difference between private and public power costs is another object lesson in the wastefulness of socialism in this field. Time and again public power, said to be cheaper, has turned out to be far more expensive. It is characteristic of the loose planning of socialists that they start low in their estimates, and end up far on the high side of the ledger. The Clark Hill project in Georgia-South Carolina was estimated in 1939 to cost $28 million; by 1955, for about the same installed capacity, $78.6 million had been spent. The Kerr Project in Virginia was to have cost $31.7 million in 1944; by 1955, the cost was $87.2 million. The Garrison Dam in North Dakota was estimated at $130 million in 1943; now the figure is $294 million. Hungry Horse, in Montana, in 1951 was estimated at $39.5 million; by 1954, it had cost $101.6 million. McNary Dam in Washington-Oregon was to cost $49.5 million in 1938; by 1956 the cost was $286 million.

Prices of equipment change, of course, and sometimes more capacity is added during construction, but the

Comparative Cost to the Public

Memphis Electric Plant	Mississippi Valley Generating Co.	Socialistic Wastage
1. *Capital Cost*		
812,000 k.w. of capability built for $163,245,000.	650,000 k.w. of capability built for $107,250,000.	$35 per k.w. on more kilowatts or a total of $28,360,000. This includes neither the loss of the greater income this sum could earn privately, nor the loss in taxes that would be paid on that income.
2. *Higher Electric Rates*		
Engineers estimate the cost to be recovered will require 4.48 mills per k.w.h., or more.	The contract contemplated 3.98 mills per k.w.h.	.50 mills per k.w.h., $1,700,000 per annum on the demand of 3,338 million k.w.h. expected by Memphis in 1959.
3. *Taxes Lost*		
No Federal or State taxes paid, and no tax on interest paid to bondholders. The City of Memphis receives 1.3 per cent of capital plant in lieu of real estate taxes.	All taxes paid equal to about 2.1 per cent of capital value of plant, plus individual income taxes on interest and dividends.	.8 per cent clearly lost on company taxes, plus an estimated 1 per cent more on capital due to tax redemption of individual bondholders. The total thus is probably at least 1.8 per cent on capital, or equal, on $163,245,000, to $2,950,000 per annum over the 35½ year life of the bonds.
4. *Power Production Lost*		
This plant will be completed in 1959.	This plant would have been ready this year.	The gross value of Mississippi Valley Generating production was estimated at $20,750,000 per annum. Some two years have been lost in argument. Gross national product calculations by economist would have included for the U.S.A. this sum each year.
5. *Interest Saving Lost*		
Cost of money to Memphis was 4.47 per cent.	Cost of money in the contract was expected to be about 3.50 per cent, subject, however, to adjustment to the market when the contract was finally signed.	The difference of .97 per cent is due to delays, as expected by the proponents of a Dixon-Yates contract, who foresaw a shortage of capital funds. Thus difference equals $1,631,960 per annum on $163,245,000 capital cost, or $57,934,580 over the 35½ year life of the bonds.

socialist planners never seem able to estimate accurately in the first place, even on the visible costs. In addition, there are the invisible costs such as lost taxes. These can be huge. On the projects cited above it is estimated that the taxes lost by federal and state governments would exceed $610 million over the forty-year average life of plant and machinery.

Niagara Project

Many other socialized public projects will be proposed in this Congress. For example, there will be a renewed attempt to socialize Niagara power.

It now seems likely that Congress may approve a compromise agreement under which the right to develop the Niagara project will be awarded to the New York State Power Authority instead of the five stockholder-owned taxpaying electric companies which have stood able and willing to undertake the project for the last five years.

As a "compromise," the Power Authority would eliminate the so-called "preferential clause" which would give municipalities and cooperatives first claim on all power produced. But preference clause or no, the Power Authority development would still be another costly experiment in socialism. Tax-exempt bonds would be sold to obtain the necessary funds. Millions in taxes would thus be lost to the state and federal governments; and just as in the case of the Memphis plant, every American taxpayer would have to help make up the loss by paying higher taxes.

If the full costs of every such project were to be analyzed as the Memphis figures are analyzed above, if the *real* cost of socialized power were to be explained, our politicians might care to take another long, hard look at what they are planning to do with the taxpayers' money. And they might also begin to question whether the federal government should continue to grant individual income-tax exemption on interest received from revenue bonds issued by states and municipalities for projects which needlessly compete with taxpaying private enterprise.

(Reprints of this article are available from NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y., at 15¢ each, 100 for $10.00)*

From Washington Straight

SAM M. JONES

Will Beck Be Back?

The magnificent House that Beck Built still rears its arrogant facade across the plaza from the U.S. Capitol, but the Boss of the Teamsters Union is not at home. Figuratively speaking, the curtains are drawn and, literally speaking, his chief assistants are avoiding reporters. The most pertinent question, in this reporter's opinion; is not, "*When* is Dave coming home?" but rather, "*Is* Dave coming home?" The situation is reminiscent. . . . On October 25, 1923, after eighteen months of investigation, public hearings were opened on what came to be known as the "Teapot Dome scandals." Two key witnesses were "unavailable." They were traveling in Europe. Some thirty years later Henry Blackmer, President of the Midwest Oil & Refining Co., made a settlement through his attorneys and came home to die. James E. O'Neill, chief executive of Prairie Oil & Gas, died abroad. In the interval these gentlemen lived peacefully on the Riviera. No subpoena-server cast his unwelcome shadow across their paths. No power of the Senate could budge them. Like Beck they were men of wealth and power, and like Beck they were badly wanted by a Senate Committee.

Government attorneys have given NATIONAL REVIEW a tentative opinion that if Mr. Beck chooses to become an expatriate, nothing, probably, can be done about his defiance of a Senate Committee. Extradition would become a possibility only if he were indicted for a criminal offense.

Civil Rights Program?

Republican leaders of House and Senate, Martin and Knowland, evince some degree of optimism concerning passage of the Administration's civil rights program, but it is generally conceded that time is short and the hurdles high. Two months after its introduction, the legislation has cleared only a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. The Senate Judiciary subcommittee may continue to hold hearings for some time if Ervin of South Carolina and other Southern members prevail. If approved by the full Judiciary Committees of both Houses, the legislation must then be approved by the House Rules Committee, pass the House, surmount a determined Senate filibuster, get by the House-Senate Conference Committee and a vote in both Houses on the Conference report, with the further certainty that there will be a second filibuster in the Senate. Proponents of the program believe they have a chance if it passes the House and reaches the Senate floor before the Easter recess, but the difficulties ahead hardly warrant optimism. Among the Democratic and Republican supporters of the program, other than Knowland and Martin, there is growing pessimism. It has been eight years since a civil rights bill was reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee, and at that time the Chairman was a Republican. The present chairman is Senator Eastland of Mississippi.

Battle Royal

On the latest count there were 22 candidates in the Texas special election race for the U.S. Senate. Herbert J. Antoine, Jr., came in just before the filing deadline as a second Republican entry, thereby possibly diminishing the chances of the other GOP contender, Thad Hutcheson, in the election of April 2. Few observers are willing to wager heavily on the outcome although the possibility of a Republican victory is conceded. As previously noted here, such an upset in traditionally Democratic Texas would place the GOP in position to take over control of the Senate. But the probability, in the opinion of a veteran correspondent from Texas, is that the battle is between Yarborough and Dies, with Yarborough the favorite on the theory that the Republican and conservative Democratic vote will be split among Hutcheson, Dies and Antoine, and that Yarborough will capture the bulk of the regular Democratic and Liberal votes.

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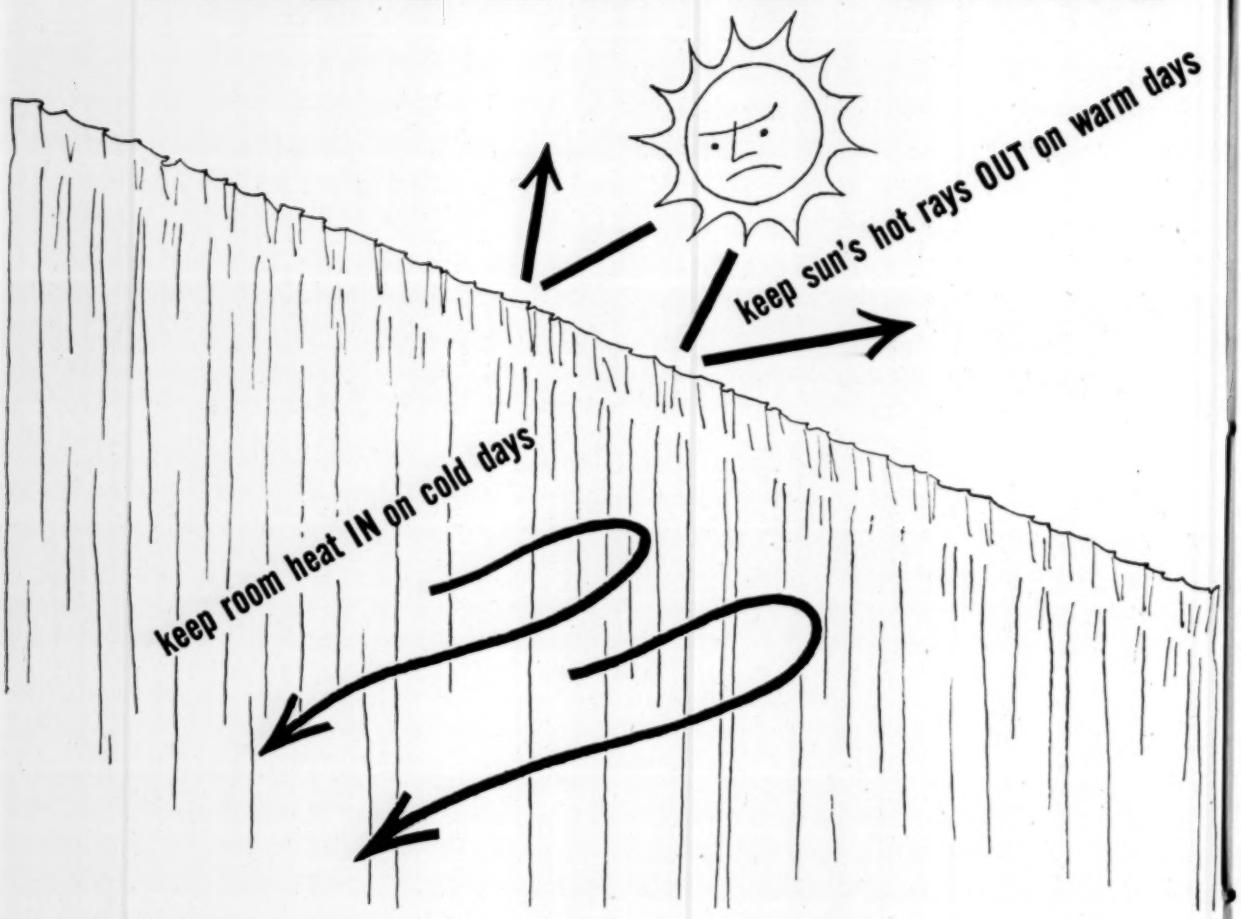

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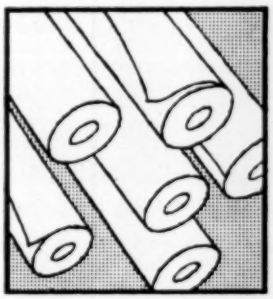

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(*Continued from p. 252*)

the other, have, over the years, become polarized in two fairly rigid and easily defined positions. The devilish thing about Mr. Eisenhower's Middle East resolution was that it squarely challenged *both* positions.

Position A, let us call it, was taken by Senator Fulbright: "The President as Commander in Chief has under the Constitution the broad power to resist anything which he would deem to be a threat to our vital interests." This view does not deny the right of Congress to make war *too, i.e.,* on its own initiative; but if the President finds it necessary to go to war to protect American "interests," Congress' power to declare war becomes, in those circumstances, the power to ratify the President's action.

Position B, as Senator Ervin put it, holds that "the power of the President . . . when not acting by congressional authority is wholly defensive in nature," and that "by virtue of its constitutional right to declare war, Congress and Congress alone has the power to authorize the employment of the armed forces of the United States in offensive warfare." This view insists that defense of a *foreign* nation, such as contemplated by the Eisenhower doctrine, is, in the constitutional context, "offensive" war—*i.e.,* a war which only Congress has the right to ordain. To say that the President has the broad power to make war in order to protect American "interests" (position A) is, Senator McCarthy observed, "to obliterate altogether the distinction between defensive and offensive operations." For, clearly, *any* war can be justified in those terms.

The Eisenhower doctrine, therefore, raised serious constitutional problems any way you looked at it. If position A was correct, the President already has the power to resist aggression in the Middle East on his own initiative, and for Congress to "grant" him that power would not only be a superfluous act; it would be a precedent for denying future Presidents the right to exercise their full constitutional authority. Mr. Eisenhower's resolution, Senator Mansfield argued, "could eventually convert a fundamental power of the Presidency —the power to command the armed forces—into a congressional function."

If, on the other hand, position B was correct, the resolution entailed a delegation to the President of a power the Constitution gives exclusively to Congress. The Constitution's power scheme cannot, however, be altered by an act of Congress; clearly, a constitutional amendment is required. Partisans of position B were not denying that Congress may, by treaty for example, or even by resolution, commit the U.S. to a future war on the occurrence of certain specified events, or that the President would be entitled, should such events occur, to order the armed forces into action. But the broad discretion granted the President by the resolution to make war in defense of unspecified nations against other unspecified nations under conditions that are far from clear is, they said, precisely the kind of discretion that Congress must retain for itself. Enactment of the Eisenhower doctrine, Senator Talmadge contended, "would abdicate the power of Congress to declare war."

Under the circumstances, it was only natural that Secretary Dulles, at a very early stage of the Joint Committee hearings, was asked to present the Administration's views. Perhaps, in the light of Dwight Eisenhower's well-advertised concern for strict observance of the Constitution, some "third" position on the constitutional issue had been hammered out in the counsels of the Executive Branch that would allay the Senate's misgivings.

Senator Wiley opened the discussion by asking the Secretary whether he agreed that the President already had the power he was requesting (position A). "Well, frankly, Senator," the Secretary answered, "I don't know whether I agree with it or not, but I do not think it has a particle of importance whether I agree with it or not. The important thing is [that] we have got to get some practical results here."

A possible violation of the Constitution has not a "particle of importance"? Surely the old rascal was "joking" again. But that was precisely the Secretary's position: The Committee members moved in on the constitutional question from every angle imaginable, and always Mr. Dulles' answer was the same: the question, sir, is "irrelevant." After a while, Senator Long got tough:

> SENATOR LONG. Let me ask you this question, then: Did President Roosevelt have the right to put troops on Iceland during World War II?
>
> SECRETARY DULLES. I don't know.
>
> SENATOR LONG. I am sure you have given some thought to the matter.
>
> SECRETARY DULLES. No, I have never given thought to that one.
>
> SENATOR LONG. In your judgment, did President Truman have any right to send American forces or any power to send American forces into Korea?
>
> SECRETARY DULLES. I never studied that as a lawyer.
>
> SENATOR LONG. Never considered it?
>
> SECRETARY DULLES. No, sir.

Finally, from Senator Jackson, the $64 question:

> . . . Did you have anyone in the State Department, in your Legal Department, render an opinion on this point [the extent of the President's war powers] before you drafted the resolution?
>
> SECRETARY DULLES. No, sir.

Left to its own devices the Senate proceeded to solve the constitutional problem in the following ways:

The Joint Committee amended the Administration's resolution by striking out the "authorizing" phrase, and substituting for it a statement that the U.S. is prepared to use its armed forces in the Middle East "if the President determines the necessity thereof." The new language did not in any way change the fact that the resolution delegates to the President the right to determine when the U.S. should go to war (leaving the objections from both positions A and B just where they were); but it did, the Committee thought—to quote from its report—"[have] the virtue of remaining silent on the question of the relationship between Congress and the President with respect to the use of the armed forces for the objective stated in the resolution."

Notwithstanding, the debate waxed hot and heavy on precisely the point that had been at issue from the outset. It remained for Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming to find the ultimate way out. We might amend the resolution, he suggested, by a proviso that all actions taken pursuant to it shall be "consonant with the Constitution of the United States". . . In exactly the time it took the clerk to call the roll, the Senate adopted the O'Mahoney amendment 82-0.

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

How to Unscramble An Omelet

There's no great mystery about why the British Conservatives lost the Lewisham by-election. The Rent Act is taking most of the blame. This Act is a belated first step at clearing away the tangle of restrictions on rented property which began as emergency legislation in the first World War and is by now well on the way to producing new slums: landlords aren't allowed to raise rents to a point which makes it economical to repair their property. This made it necessary that, under the recent Rent Act, tenants pay more; and the Socialists exploited the fact. There was also an Independent candidate at Lewisham, who probably took more votes from the Conservatives than from Labor, and, of course, there's always a swing against the Government in office.

But none of these things was really decisive. Lewisham was lost for the same reason that brought Tory losses in last year's Tonbridge and Melton by-elections: a vital section of Conservative voters simply stayed at home. These are the middle class people, ground between the two millstones of inflation and progressive taxation, who would never vote Labor but are disgusted at the failure of Conservative governments to help them. Unless Mr. Macmillan can bring these lost sheep back into the fold, the Conservatives have no chance at all of winning the next general election.

What counts, then, will be the budget—not this year's budget probably but next year's. And Mr. Macmillan realizes it. The target is very simple: taxes must be lowered and incentives to ambition thereby increased. Even the Trade Union Congress agrees about that. But how to achieve the target is quite another matter. Every new Chancellor comes into office determined to slash government expenditure and every Chancellor soon learns how extremely difficult this is.

Money spent by the government doesn't simply melt away: it goes, directly or indirectly, into someone's pocket. If you stop the flow in any direction, you are bound to make someone worse off. And in a country where the two political parties are running neck and neck, neither of them can afford to offend any very large group of people. Benefits once given become almost impossible to withdraw. Every cut is attacked as discriminating against some section of the community. Conversely, any reversal of egalitarian measures (such as a reduction in death duties) would be called favoring the rich at the expense of the poor. No wonder so many Conservatives have lost heart. Whether or not the Labor Party is in office, socialist ideas seem inescapably to prevail.

Not only is it political dynamite to cut the cost of the Welfare State but, in a period of inflation, it becomes scarcely possible to prevent the cost from rising. Next year's civil estimates are up by £110 million on a total of £2654 million, an increase which already threatens to swallow up all the promised savings on defense.

Mr. Macmillan's task, then, is clear but deadly difficult. He tackled defense first because it offers scope for the largest possible cuts with the fewest offended voters. Democracies are notoriously feckless about their own safety and you can always reduce the armed services without meeting any serious opposition except some choleric and rather comic splutters from the generals, admirals and air marshals. But with the world situation as it is, there is a strict limit to the distance any responsible government dare go in this direction. And when you've reached that limit, you still haven't reduced expenditure sufficiently to allow substantial tax reliefs. So you come back to the civil estimates.

The government has put its toe gingerly into these dangerous waters. The price of school meals, and of welfare milk for young children and expectant mothers, is to go up slightly. Everybody is to pay another ten pence a week in compulsory national insurance because of the rocketing cost of the Health Service. Between them, these changes should add up to a saving of £58 million or so; but even that is hardly a genuine saving, for the increased charges do no more than restore the original rate of contribution in terms of current money values.

Socialists Enraged

From the howls of rage sent up by the Socialists you might think the doctors' surgeries would now be empty and the streets filled with starving schoolchildren. "Resign!" they cried. "Taking it out on the kiddies!" they yelled. There was such an uproar of catcalls in the House of Commons that the Speaker had to restore order before the rest of the Chancellor's statement could be heard. It would be pleasant to say that the scene was remarkable but, as everyone knows, during the past few months this sort of behavior has become all too usual. Detached observers, whatever their personal political views, must be feeling increasingly uneasy about the health of British parliamentary institutions.

So there's the problem in a nutshell. The government announces relatively very small economies designed to take a little of the burden off the taxpayer's shoulders—and it is instantly overwhelmed with abuse. Meanwhile costs continue to rise and doctors and dentists are threatening to leave the Health Service unless they get substantial increases of pay.

This is the inevitable penalty of an economy which is now half socialist and half free-enterprise. The vicious spiral can only be checked, let alone reversed, by the kind of action which will anger the Labor Party and alienate a lot of half-hearted middle-of-the-roaders. This will doubtless be very unpleasant and politically very dangerous. But if the Conservative Party is to survive, it has to be tried. Mr. Macmillan's accession to the premiership brought new hope because some people here believe he realizes this more clearly than previous Conservative Ministers seem to have done.

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

I asked M. Stanton Evans (Yale 1955), of the staff of Human Events, *to write up the educational conference described below in "The Ivory Tower." I follow his account of it with an account of a right-wing conference of students held the same day in New York.*—W.F.B.

Notes on A Liberal Love Feast

The morning of Saturday, March 2, found Mr. Robert Hutchins in the well of a raggedly "modern" auditorium at Sarah Lawrence College, spreading confusion. Keynoting a student conference on "The Character of the Present Generation," Hutchins delivered an altogether satisfactory indictment of academic "leveling"—to the apparent puzzlement of his audience. Questions posed after the address inspired the thought that a discourse on "The Black Shadow of Fear" would have been more acceptable than observations like: "It is cant to say that universal education is a good thing, regardless of its quality. Bad education is a bad thing." Perhaps the students knew their speaker chiefly as President of the Fund for the Republic, rather than as an educator and militant critic of modern mass-education trends. If so, it would be interesting to know what they made of his remark (in reference to his escape from Trustees and other encumbrances of the academic life): "For the past five years I have been utterly irresponsible."

If Hutchins caused a mild rift in the ranks of united Liberaldom, harmony was soon restored. The student delegates (representing over forty Eastern colleges) were to spend the afternoon in one or another of four panel discussions of divers imponderables. While each of these gatherings had its allure, I resolved to attend a panel considering the "Political and Economic Status of Students," which, although held in an out-of-the-way room in the Sarah Lawrence Little Theater, was audited by perhaps fifty or sixty students.

Panelist H. H. Wilson, Professor of Political Science at Princeton and a contributing editor of the *Nation*, began things by saying that the words "conservative" and "liberal" are meaningless to describe the political attitudes of today's students, who are totally indifferent to politics. Andre Schiffrin, a young Socialist from Yale, was the next speaker. He confirmed Wilson's judgment as to the cloddishness of American students, but indicated that present company—representing the hyperactive, "overorganized minority"—was excepted. This piece of complacency was incorporated as an axiom of the discussion: although a "lack of independent thought" characterized the entire country, this particular meeting was replete with Independent Thinkers.

For the most part, the meeting featured representatives of American education wallowing in contrition for the sins of those not present. Then Mr. Robert Reich, of Canada's McGill University, added a new dimension—the superiority of other countries. Americans, Reich agreed, seemed like so many cattle. But in Canada it was different. At McGill, for instance, there is an active, *serious* Communist party. Not only that, but the McGill paper (of which Reich is the editor) publishes articles like "The Advantages of Prostitution" and "The Immorality of the Christian God." Basking in the deliciously scandalized regard of his audience, Reich was quite satisfied with himself and his childishness. And, except for a half-hearted *tu quoque* offered by Schiffrin, no American rose to defend his country against Reich's aspersions. They sat there and took it.

The final speaker, a soft-spoken and attractive young lady from Barnard College, was the only panelist who saw much good in American students. Ironically, it was she, unknowing, who intoned the epitaph of this still-born generation. "Utopian" ideals, she said, led but to disappointment and despair. Today's youth is therefore supremely wise in embracing the organized absence of all ideals—"moderation."

The floor was then thrown open to general debate. Mr. Schiffrin had noted that the murder of Hungary had aroused sympathy among Yale students. A young lady objected that such a response was "irrational," since the Hungarian uprising was merely a demand for "national communism," which Americans disliked in the person of Marshal Tito. Another student quoted an account that appeared to contradict Schiffrin's version of the feeling at Yale. He obliquely—and incorrectly—attributed the quotation to William F. Buckley, Jr., and Schiffrin used this garble as a pretext for some inspired garbling of his own. Just about the kind of thing you can expect from Buckley, Schiffrin indicated, and launched into a denunciation of Buckley, his "fellow travelers" and his "front"—the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists.

With the "extreme" right wing thus introduced into the discussion, several questions, and answers, were suspended from the tacitly agreed-upon fact that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was a bounder: e.g., had McCarthy's beastliness warped American youth, or had it not?

Two affirmations had by this time emerged from the amiable prosings of panelists and audience: 1) a numbing conformity created political indifference on the college campus; 2) "dissent" was among the chief virtues. Noting this partiality for "dissent," I rose to offer some.

Addressing myself to Mr. Reich of Canada, I asked if he had noticed that the panelists seated about him were uniformly Liberal. Or that, in the comments on Senator McCarthy, every voice had reviled, and none defended him. Could he judge from this, I asked, just what kind of conformity it was that gripped American students? Using data such as a student's having once asked him if the snow ever melted in Canada, Mr. Reich had flayed the "anti-intellectualism" of all America. But on this more specific question, he allowed that he could formulate no conclusion on the basis of partial evidence.

I then offered my opinion that the conformity which oppressed young minds was nurtured by professors committed to a belief in the Welfare State. Professor Wilson objected. Although he averred that "no one today" disputes the desirability of the Welfare State, he denied that Liberal teaching was the cause. When asked to name the basic economics textbook used at Princeton (his school), he claimed not to know. When I informed him that it was Paul A. Samuelson's *Economics*, a book blatantly committed to the Welfare State theories of Lord Keynes, he offered no reply. But panelist Paul Tillett, also of the Princeton faculty, could contain himself no longer Bluntly, he requested me to stop inflicting my opinions on an otherwise happy gathering. I was repeating myself, he said, and had talked entirely too much. Disinclined, under the circumstances, to claim a debater's prerogatives, I sat down. The young lady on the panel then attempted to address a question to me, but Professor Wilson, saying that we had had about enough of that, quickly shifted the discussion to more seemly topics.

The meeting, shortly after this exchange, was brought to a close; and the participants filed out—content, no doubt, with their afternoon's travail. Once more, in convention assembled, they had defied the conformity of the day, and sworn their fealty to the sacred right of dissent.

M. STANTON EVANS

As for the Nonconformists . . .

On the same day the political elite of Eastern colleges foregathered at Sarah Lawrence, a small group of persons convened in New York City to hear discussed by those who ought to know—by students—the question "Is American Education Conserving Liberty?" The meeting was sponsored by AWARE, Inc., the organization headed by Mr. Godfrey P. Schmidt, and founded to keep an eye on Communist infiltration in the entertainment and communications industries. This was the fourth annual Education Session, and was presided over, as were the others, by Mrs. Lucille Cardin Crain, the pert, pretty, and soft-spoken lady who for several years struck terror into the hearts of progressive educationists by publishing a little quarterly that surveyed college and high school texts from the libertarian point of view.

Most right-wing conclaves suffer from the factors implicit in precisely the situation they normally gather to lament: we are a minority. As a minority, we must put up with certain disadvantages. Fashionable colleges do not play host to students deranged enough to protest the prevailing orthodoxy and describe some of the juicier techniques of the conformity-pushers. Hence other quarters must be located; and that, in New York, is a job. In any case, the group met in a musty and dank auditorium away down in St. Mark's Place, in lower New York, whose shabbiness dampened some spirits, and whose remoteness kept some people away. If it had not been for the skill of the administrators of the program, and the buoyancy of the student speakers in particular, it would have been a gray day. It is curious how much the physical environment can mean. . . . When I first saw the Polish National Home I felt like rushing out to buy some bunting!

The show came during the afternoon, when ten students from divers colleges spoke for a few minutes each either on their own understanding of freedom, or on some of their experiences with their teachers, or both. Robert Burns of Yale recalled that when the Conservative Society of the Yale Law School invited the Attorney General of Georgia to give the Southern view of the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court, the most aggressive student organization on the campus, the John Dewey Society, with characteristic impudence demanded that an opposition speaker be presented on the same program! Richard O'Malley of CCNY gave a hair-raising account of the tribulations of the small group of dissenters from the Liberal-materialist orthodoxy which has reigned over CCNY for so many years. When, after heroic efforts, he finally bearded the student president of the Economics Honor Society and demanded that at least one classical economist be invited to speak on campus, he was stymied by the fact that the student in question had never *heard* of any classical economist. O'Malley introduced him to the name of Ludwig von Mises, with the result that Dr. Mises is now scheduled to appear.

Walter Kohler of Wisconsin described the course in Contemporary Trends taught at his college, and attended by several hundred students, as a continuing exercise in Liberal indoctrination. Of another college a student reported that a philosophy professor, back from a trip to the Soviet Union, informed his class that only in the Soviet Union did the people enjoy real civil liberties. A dissenting student, a refugee from Communism, was flunked out of the course after vigorously disagreeing.

Peter Kohler of Yale described his experiences in establishing a chapter of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. Clark Woodroe of the Millbrook School contrasted the attitude of American students with that of the Hungarian students who sparked the great rebellion, and remarked that the only kind of political enthusiasm he could find in his own school was spent in denigrating T. Coleman Andrews. Ronald Rosenbaum of Queens made a pitch for working within the Republican Party. Jerry Coons of Harvard spoke of the doings of a robust group of conservatives in Harvard, and made some interesting definitions. Edward C. Facey of Cornell described the agony of the editor of the *Cornell Sun* when, surveying the world about him, his eye happens upon evidence of conservative life.

So it went. The young men and women present were realists. Students have come a long way, in the last five or six years, for, throughout the land, they are slowly apprehending the dominant fact of our time: that a rigid conformity does exist in the colleges, but that it is a conformity of the Liberal-Left. The fact that they have had to find this out for themselves has made some of them restive. The fact, demonstrated last week, that they are part of a large and national fraternity, gives them courage. Such conferences as AWARE's are surely essential. They should be held regularly, I should think, and all over the land. The formula is simple. And the students are dying to talk. They do not get much of a chance at college, and less encouragement.

ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Lament on A Drought

One of the most disturbing aspects of our cultural debacle is the fact that it is by no means generally conceded. As if this were a period like any other, just one more beat in the normal rhythm of time, the optimists among us see nothing but silver linings on the pitch-dark horizon, and scold the truthful critic who tells of the night. Yet, to no one's surprise, the case of the optimists shrinks down to statistics: three million high school kids in America are playing an instrument; there are seven times more dramatic groups active in Suburbia than only fifteen years ago; the nation spent last year, on long-playing records, almost one-eleventh of what it lost at the race tracks; and so on. Now, how do these lovely figures make us look—us, those kill-joys in a gay mass civilization, those damnable bards of gloom?

Well, I'll tell you. They make us look so right that it isn't even funny. For the very evidence the fact-finders gather against us proves, above all, that they can no longer comprehend what we are talking about. And the measure of the cultural debacle is precisely the readiness of the optimists to invoke the authority of statistics against that of value judgments. The measure of the debacle, in other words, is Bentham's transgression into Aristotle's domain.

Bentham's supposition—that statistics are relevant measurements of a civilization — was questionable enough in the shallow realm of *social* existence; for no sensible man will deny that Athens, where a small minority of citizens lorded it over a multitude of slaves, was a happier and more satisfactory society than, say, Calvin's egalitarian and prosperous Geneva. But the Bentham supposition becomes altogether fallacious when claims are made for numbers to serve as measurements of cultural viability. (For the purposes of this discussion, and with due apologies for an unavoidable oversimplification, I mean by "civilization" the prevailing arrangements of coexistence between man and man, and by "culture" the relations between man and values.)

What is the magnitude of a national culture? The sum total of the cultural sensitivities of all its members? If this were so, then the musical culture of a nation whose every member enjoys "Last Rose," but none enjoys Mozart, would excel that of a nation whose minority adores the "Requiem" but whose majority pays no attention to music. This, obviously, is absurd. The Bentham equation (the number of citizens, times the minute grade of musical appreciation required for "Last Rose") can make no statement at all on the maturity of musical experience. A society of drum majorettes is, in musical culture, obviously inferior to another society where only one-tenth enjoys Mozart and nine-tenths enjoy only beer.

The number of people, in other words, who participate in the celebration of values has nothing to do with the magnitude of a national culture. I cannot imagine an optimist so cherubic as to contend that the theatrical culture of a people which every week patronizes burlesque, but only burlesque, is higher than that of a people which patronizes Shakespeare festivals, but only once a year. The only relevant statement on the culture of a nation (or a period) is, not how many people make the motions of celebration, and how often, but what are the highest values celebrated by no matter how few?

Now, to return to the cultural debacle of our day, the quantitative consolation is completely beside the point: There seems to be universal consensus, including even the optimists, that no twenty-year period since, say, the Renaissance has been so consistently barren in cultural creativeness as the last twenty years. This is true for France and England as for America; for painting and composition as for the novel; for playwrights as well as for sculptors. And, come to think of it, it's not just the last twenty years. It's likely forty.

There was, from the Renaissance, not a single twenty-year or even forty-year period during which, somewhere in the West, not a single great painter emerged. This has happened in our day, for the first time: Though there are in America, in France, in Italy, several perfectly pleasant craftsmen, not a single formative painter has arisen in forty years, anywhere, not since the breakthrough of Picasso, Matisse, Braque.

Never, since the end of the eighteenth century, have there been twenty years during which, not in England, France, America, Russia or Germany has a great novel been written. And when I say "twenty years," I stretch the point mercifully to let such questionable entries pass as Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Actually, no great novel has been written in Europe since Malraux's *Condition Humaine* and none in America since Sinclair Lewis' *Arrowsmith*.

As to the stage—I have written all year about the malodorous desert that is Broadway. Even the professional optimists among the theater critics would not deny that there has been no great new American drama since, God help us, *Death of A Salesman*. And I should like to dissent even on Mr. Miller. I would say that no great American drama has been written since Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra*. And no great play has been written in Europe for at least twenty years. The leading French playwright is Anouilh—and some readers will recall what I had to report about his *Waltz of the Toreadors*.

Some other time I shall contemplate the tragic contemporary drought of musical creativeness—to me the worst of all. My lifetime has not known a single composer who could continue the glorious succession of mastery that was passed on, without one generation's interruption, from the end of the seventeenth century until about forty years ago.

We are heirs to greatness, but witnesses only to a debacle. Those among us whose self-importance cannot admit such a fate will pile figures on figures to prove a dignity that isn't there. Those of us who comprehend the dignity of serving as true witnesses will face the drought and, perhaps, survive it.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Age of Roosevelt

FRANK S. MEYER

As far as the United States is concerned, "the revolution of our time" will have to be adjudged to a very large degree in terms of the meaning of the role of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This is not because he was an ideologue in the sense that Lenin or Sun Yat-sen or Mussolini was. The pragmatic cast of American thought has long been such that it was not to be expected that the American protagonist of fundamental political and social change would be the prophet of a rigid system of ideas.

But, though not in this sense an ideologue, Roosevelt, in a typically experimental and pragmatic way, paralleled the ideologues who elsewhere led the revolt against the freedom of the individual in the name of "security," "society," the State. It was he who made the decisive breach in the American constitutional structure and the free American economic system. It was he who established the foundations of that statism which has continued to grow so mightily under both political parties to this day. True, in previous years, under Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, important preliminary steps in this direction had been taken; but it is with the Administrations of Franklin Roosevelt that the transformation occurs.

Yet, despite the unquestionable primacy of FDR in the Liberal revolution, there has been no book from the Liberal ranks that seriously assesses him and consolidates the man, the myth, and the age, in the way that the theoreticians of the Establishment might seem to owe him. A great mass of Rooseveltiana has been published, ranging from the trivialities of Elliott Roosevelt and Frances Perkins to the detailed biography of Frank Freidel; but no one has fixed the historical image, no one has presented him on the level of political principle.

For years it has been rumored that Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. was working on a *magnum opus* that would do just this. At last the first volume of his projected four-volume *Age of Roosevelt* has appeared (***The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933,*** Houghton Mifflin, $6.00). Having looked forward for these same years to the opportunity of coming to grips with a serious proponent of the Roosevelt revolution, I opened the book with high hopes of battle. All the advance publicity had borne out the rumors: Adlai Stevenson praised its "insight"; Frank Freidel compared it to Churchill; August Heckscher considered it "history as only the greatest historians have written it." But when I began to read the book, disappointment set in—not disappointment in that I disagreed with Mr. Schlesinger's thesis. That I expected. But disappointment with the quality of his thought, with the vulgarity of his conceptual apparatus, with the slickness of his presentation.

Certainly the ideology is there, but it is not honestly and intellectually offered. It is projected by stereotyped portrait and amusing anecdote and sentimental evocation. The message is powerful enough, but it is powerful at the level of the sophisticated advertisement writer. The very title carries it. "The old order" is, of course, a literal translation of *"l'ancien régime,"* with overtones of Marie Antoinette, babbling "Let 'em eat cake," and the Bourbons, ruling with callous indifference over starving multitudes.

Coolidge and Hoover, although they are granted a few human characteristics, emerge, together with the bankers and businessmen of the twenties, as the blind and bumbling architects of disaster, figures introduced into the action but to enhance the glory of the shining hero waiting in the wings. It is the devil theory of Charley Michelson's campaign (which did so much to discredit Hoover and elect Roosevelt) raised to a more genteel level and decked out in the pretentious garments of History.

The structure of the volume is itself designed to present this simple contest. The first two-thirds are devoted to an impressionistic story of the twenties—all tinselled prosperity, intellectual and spiritual disillusionment and, at the end, muttering rebellion. It comes to its culmination in a purple passage describing the Democratic National Convention of 1932 and the nomination of Franklin Roosevelt.

And here the second theme begins, developed in the last third of the book—the life of Franklin Roosevelt from his birth to Inauguration Day, 1933. The lights change, the tone is reversed. Everything is portentous of hope—from the gay Russian sleigh in which "James and Sallie Roosevelt . . . skim along the frosty white roads" a few days before the happy event of January 30, 1882, until March 4, 1933, when, on the last page of the book, the hero moves towards his apotheosis:

> Many had deserted freedom, many more had lost their nerve. But Roosevelt, armored in some inner faith, remained calm and inscrutable . . . grim but unfraid. Deep within, he seemed to know . . . that catastrophe could provide the indispensable setting for democratic experiment and for presidential leadership. . . . The only thing Americans had to fear was fear itself. And so he serenely awaited the morrow. The event was in the hand of God.

The book leaves one with what Hollywood likes to call "an unforgettable message"—etched in corn.

Still, with all the apparatus of close-ups and fade-outs, the blarney about "patrician" social responsibility, the "intimate pictures" and the hero-worshipper's loving lingering on detail, the lineaments of the real Roosevelt are discernible enough: a person of charm, of great influence over men, revealing himself fully to no one, intent always upon power and its achievement, unmeasured in his ambition. He was no firm ideologist, it is true; but one thing he understood as far back as his days in the Albany Legislature, and earlier, was that the road to power in the twentieth century lay in the statist and socialist direction.

This, at least, Mr. Schlesinger makes clear and in this he glories. There is a sense in which he has, after all, written the kind of ideological tract adequate to his purposes. It may be that the very style in which it is written, the very refusal to state openly his premises and argue for them is a tribute to his hero, the tribute of imitation. For Roosevelt, who led this country far along the road to socialism, never himself publicly stated his premises nor argued for them. As he said to Tugwell about government "planning" in 1932: "That kind of thing would have to grow rather than be campaigned for."

In a very real sense, FDR never campaigned openly for what he fundamentally wanted. It simply "grew." That is, he put it over. His public efforts in campaign after campaign were based, not upon an open struggle for his goals, but upon a Machiavellian calculus directed towards the achievement of power.

Valentines to the Supreme Court

The Supreme Court Speaks, by Jerre S. Williams. 465 pp. Austin: University of Texas Press. $5.95

The Creative Role of the Supreme Court of the United States, by M. Ramaswamy. 138 pp. Stanford: Stanford University Press. $3.00

These two books are born of the current love affair between the Liberal intelligentsia and the Supreme Court.

The attitude that the Court is "never, well, hardly ever" wrong seriously detracts from Professor Williams' work. He adopts an original and helpful method of presenting the history of the Court, *viz.,* quotations from opinions in leading cases, annotated with descriptions of the judges involved and of the legal, political and factual backgrounds of the particular cases. This method should convey to the lay reader, in a single volume, an intimate history of the Court.

Unfortunately Professor Williams so combines admiration for the Court and acceptance of the current intellectual credo that he omits whole chapters in the Court's history in which its decisions were unacceptable to modern Liberal thinking.

He does concede that the Court erred in the Dred Scott case, holding unconstitutional the prohibition of slavery in the territories; in *Pollock* v. *Farmers Loan & Trust Co.,* holding unconstitutional the income tax act of 1893; and in *Carter* v. *Carter Coal Co.,* holding unconstitutional federal regulation of mining. The long era of federal court control of state utility rate regulation receives no mention; the opinions in which the Court took a dim view of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, such as *United States* v. *E. C. Knight Co.,* are nowhere quoted; the struggle over the Interstate Commerce Act, the child labor cases, and the restrictions on state taxation, are among the missing subjects.

Even when Professor Williams can bring himself to admit that the Supreme Court made a mistake, he often fails to quote from the majority opinion but instead quotes a dissenting opinion. I would agree that *Pollock* v. *Farmers Loan & Trust* was wrongly decided; but if I should engage "in an attempt to let the United States Supreme Court tell its history in its own words," as Professor Williams says he did, I would not think I could honestly present that case only by quotation from a dissenting opinion. Moreover, when Professor Williams quotes from an opinion that he likes, he will omit passages that he doesn't like. For instance, the quotation from Judge Cardozo's opinion in *Palko* v. *Connecticut* does not include the slap in that opinion at the privilege against self-incrimination.

The annotations are largely accurate so far as they go. But facts which do not fit into the author's theory are simply left out. Calling Chief Justice Taft "indolent" is, however, a positive misstatement; as his onetime law clerk I can testify that Taft was exceedingly industrious.

It simply is not a fact that the Supreme Court has rarely been in disagreement with current Liberal attitudes. Any attempt to convey that impression borders on intellectual dishonesty.

In short, Professor Williams had a sound and ingenious idea which he spoiled by slanting.

Mr. Ramaswamy is an eminent Hindu lawyer who spent a year at Stanford University on a Fulbright. He greatly admires the Supreme Court, but is more objective than Professor Williams. The chief interest in his book to an American is incidental: his description of how the framers of the Indian Constitution sought guidance from our constitutional system in the distribution of powers between the central and the local governments.

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

Cotton Culture

The Life and Times of King Cotton, by David L. Cohn. 286 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. $5.00

The history of King Cotton is indeed the story of a "romantic trouble-maker." It all began in 1793 on Mulberry Plantation near Savannah, when a young Connecticut Yankee, under the urging of local planters, invented a machine to comb the seeds out of "vegetable wool." Little did Eli Whitney realize that he had "stopped the slow dying of Negro slavery and stimulated it anew on a vast scale, started a westward cotton movement that is still in progress, founded a cotton plantation system that profoundly affected the culture and politics of a great region, fostered the controversy that ended in civil war, and fastened upon the United States a massive race problem."

Across the water, people in Birmingham and Manchester had already gone "steam mill mad," and soon the English factory system was ready

to spin all the cotton the South could supply. Production increased enormously; between 1801 and 1859 it doubled every ten years, until it reached an annual figure of 4,500,000 bales. So dazzled were some by this circumstance that when a group of Southern leaders issued a manifesto in 1860, they got political theory all mixed up with cotton and called their defense *Cotton is King, or Proslavery Arguments.*

In the years since the Civil War, King Cotton has been often down but somehow never out. In 1931 a tremendous 17,000,000 bales was produced and the price slid to five cents a pound, "the price of a bottle of Cola." Yet despite the exhaustion of soil, the boll weevil, surpluses, and the competition of synthetic fibers, it marches on. And owing to the first of these causes, it marches westward. It will surprise some to know that California is now the fourth ranking producer in the nation, and that Arizona produces more than South Carolina. Wherever cotton culture has existed for long, it has produced a tangle of stubborn problems, which are the real subject of Mr. Cohn's book.

Mr. Cohn has written largely as a social critic, and as far as his judgments go, they are informed and sometimes acute. But as Thoreau said of the State, the way it appears depends on the point from which you look at it. If you accept the premise of industrialism and the money economy, then you say that the evils of cotton culture and cotton manufacture had to be. The motives which sent New England shipowners to the Slave Coast, which led the Southerners to buy what they brought back for the cotton fields, and which led the English factory owners to work eight-year-old children sixteen hours a day are not greatly distinguishable. The Southerners depleted their lands and lodged an alien race in their midst; the English stunted several generations of workers and inspired a "grave, bearded" gentleman, as Mr. Cohn duly notes, to write *Das Kapital.*

This is the melancholy and inerasable history of the subject. But to my primitive notion, it is just one more chapter in the story of the machine's inhumanity to man and of the lust for abstract power through money. The real answer is neither socialism nor mammoth farm supports, but the distributive economics and agrarianism of a farmer named Jefferson.

RICHARD M. WEAVER

A Man's Example

Louis Bromfield and His Books, by Morrison Brown. 166 pp. Fair Lawn, New Jersey: Essential Books. $4.50

We are willing to call a man heroic if, as a writer, he sacrifices his life to his books; if his loyalty and devotion are exclusively literary; if his personal weaknesses can only be justified by his printed works. But we balk, in a curiously snobbish way, at the converse. We pretend that it is deplorable for a man who, though he may be talented as a writer, wishes to give himself elsewhere, to sacrifice his printed works to his life. Yet is it? Doesn't the heroism lie in the fact that a choice has been made, and a true example of dedication—whether in life or art—set before us?

From the beginning, Louis Bromfield knew that what he really wanted would not be found in his writing but in his living. "Seeing everything," he declared as a young man, was more important to him than becoming the greatest novelist in the world. Yet because it was only after a successful decade as a writer that he discovered his true vocation—to *use* the soil as expressively, as imaginatively, as constructively, as he might have used story-telling—critics like Edmund Wilson have insisted that somehow he "sold out." Nothing could be more wrong. On the contrary, what makes Bromfield's life exceptional is precisely the completeness with which he gave all his resources to his chosen end, once he had embraced it. He continued to write novels just as, say, another man whose real vocation was poetry might have continued to run a farm: to promote his primary purpose.

Someone—I think it was Edna Ferber—once said that he had a unique gift for imparting his love of living to others. I believe her, and the best parts of Morrison Brown's study are not the dutiful summaries of his old magazine serials, but the glimpses of him as a friend and host to—probably—the widest cross section of the world's population that ever passed over a private citizen's doorstep. His real masterpiece was not a book, but Malabar Farm, where his last fifteen years demonstrated how exciting a life lived in uncontemptuous relation to the earth can be, and where, for many American farmers deeply humiliated by a federal subsidy which, in effect, held their calling up to scorn, his counsel and example must have been the only concrete hope in sight.

But not only farmers learned from him. I know of at least one visitor—a monstrously callow sophomore at Oberlin College—who once dropped in (unannounced, and emboldened by 3.2 beer) to chastise his host for inadequate literary standards, but who left, after a warm, witty, wordy evening, not only a little less of a prig, but wondering (to this day) if a man's personal, embodied example is not, after all, the most *needed* form of dedication a lifework can take.

ROGER BECKET

The Why of Modern Sculpture

The Art of Sculpture, by Herbert Read. 152 pp. 226 plates. Bollingen Series. New York: Pantheon Books. $7.50

"The purpose of this book," Sir Herbert Read points out in the preface, "is to give, with appropriate illustrations, an aesthetic of the art of sculpture." This purpose has been achieved with great skill, philosophic insight and a rare clarity of expression. This volume has as its basis the A. W. Mellon lectures, delivered by Sir Herbert at Washington's National Gallery of Art in 1954, and it is perhaps this relation to the spoken word, the live contact with an audience, which gives the book its vivid conciseness.

The author's aim is to explain and illustrate the development of sculpture from its earliest beginnings as *Kleinkunst* (the art which creates small, portable objects unrelated to any specific surroundings—objects which can be handled and fondled) through the "great" ages of sculpture when it was inextricably bound to and enslaved by architecture, down

to its present, newly won status as a truly independent form of art. Its root is to be found in the amulet whose "manageable dimensions and direct tactility determine the essential qualities and limitations of sculpture." "The specifically plastic sensibility is . . . more complex than the specifically visual sensibility. It involves three factors: a sensation of the tactile quality of surfaces; a sensation of volume as denoted by plane surfaces; and a synthetic realization of the mass and ponderability of the object."

These factors were more or less neglected or suppressed in what we have become used to calling the "great" works of sculpture of the Hellenistic, the Romanesque, Gothic, or Renaissance periods. They were sacrificed to "painterly" effects. Rodin was the first to return consciously to the basic requirements of his art; but not until Maillol and Henry Moore created forms whose inner tension becomes tangible on the large, non-decorative planes of their surfaces, can we speak of the complete liberation of sculpture from architecture as well as from painting. Sir Herbert Read does not claim particular greatness or impeccable beauty for modern sculpture. He merely demonstrates that it has been freed of all those elements which, except in the hands of a great genius, lead to degeneracy. The excellently reproduced illustrations give proof of the author's perfect understanding of the sculptural emotion—"integral volume, not apparent to the eye alone, but given by every direct or imaginable sensation of touch and pressure."

CHRISTIANE KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

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Slums of Suburbia

The Crack in the Picture Window, by John Keats. 196 pp. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.00

A Surfeit of Honey, by Russell Lynes. 140 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.00

Mr Keats concentrates his acidulous wit upon the newly blighted areas that surround our cities and larger towns. In new subdivisions, which "combine the worst disadvantages of suburbs and city slums without reflecting the advantages of either," thousands and thousands of people drearily and precariously exist and breed in jerry-built boxes on concrete slabs, seeking the satisfactions of conformity by pledging for gadgets all that is left of their income after they meet the payments on their mortgages.

Whether their huts cost $10,000 or $50,000 the denizens of such a subdivision cannot form a community because they are equals—approximately equals in age, intelligence, fecundity, income and insolvency. A community, as Mr. Keats sees, can exist only where there is every kind of inequality; and the new slums, by their effect on those who live in them, are a menace to our national future. "They are inhabited by human automata and they deliver the vast army of Experts, the grave diggers of our civilization."

Mr. Lynes takes a more general view of the antics that go on behind the Looking Glass of the Eisenhower "prosperity." In this topsy-turvy society, a man who earns $17,000 a year may actually own nothing and have a disposable income, after taxes and installment payments, of only $30 a month. Even "executives" form units in a vast proletariat that is living precariously from one pay check to the next, always under the threat of imminent starvation should their own careers or the national economy suffer even a minor perturbation. Their only refuge from anxiety is the most resolute thoughtlessness, just as alcohol is the alcoholic's refuge from awareness of himself.

But even the chronic drunkard cannot always escape vague premonitions of delirium tremens, and our bogus prosperity accordingly combines "empty values and national uneasiness." It is noteworthy that Mr. Lynes dares to write with cautious nostalgia of the so-called depression of 1929 as an era when honest workmanship was not abnormal, hard work was not a disgrace, and "competition worked to produce maximum efficiency." The few years of sobriety which followed the inflationary binge of the 1920s had, he says, "a climate in many respects more productive than prosperity—more interesting, more lively, more thoughtful, and even, in a wry sort of way, more fun."

REVILO OLIVER

Lucid Economist

Why Wages Rise, by F. A. Harper. 124 pp. Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Foundation for Economic Education. $1.50

In a way, the title of this lucid book is misleading, for some of Dr. Harper's keenest insights deal with related, but much wider, themes. Dr. Harper is one of the few economists who pursue the logic of the free market consistently and champion it without reserve. He trenchantly riddles the fallacy of trying to stabilize business fluctuations; points up the consequences of human variation; and touches on compulsory child unemployment as a cause of juvenile delinquency. Perhaps his best chapter deals with "The Cost of Being Governed"; in this Dr. Harper dissects the nature of government and its compulsory levies for everyone's "protection."

The book gives an incisive analysis of "fringe benefits" which are shown to be really fringe detriments—enforced reductions of a worker's wage. Union claims, unemployment, and wages in depressions are all cogently investigated. Perhaps Dr. Harper relies excessively on statistical methods which, notoriously, can prove very little. If, for example, wage rates and productivity move together, how can we decide which causes the other? Doesn't some third factor govern both? Only logical theory, not statistics, can resolve such disputes. Fortunately, logic abounds in Dr. Harper's book, and the statistics can be ignored.

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

To the Editor

The Conservative Seminar

Having attended the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club Seminar, I fully share Revilo Oliver's feeling [February 23] that "no vibration of enthusiasm or common purpose" was evident. However, in his impartial review of the proceedings, Mr. Oliver failed to say why this was so.

The "why" in my thinking is that whenever ideas are presented in such a way that they appeal to the emotions and not to the intellect, nothing can be gained from the presentation. While I am in basic agreement with what was said at the Seminar, I think that some words were extreme. . . . We must constantly strive to show this country that there is nothing extreme about conservatism.

Davenport, Iowa KEVIN COUGHLIN

Mr. Oliver's account of the ALNRC Seminar held in Chicago on February 9 was excellent (I had the pleasure of attending). His summary of the speakers' topics was extremely fair and that—in this present-day method of reporting—is unique and, therefore, commendable.

I would like to mention that Major Bundy, who is a die-hard Taft Republican, is a firm believer in the two-party system and feels that if we cannot recapture an established organization, of which we are a part, we cannot hope to start one from scratch that will be capable of competing with either of the machines. There was a "Conservative" line on the ballot in thirteen states last election and what is the score—zero!

It took a lot of time, energy and money of thousands of good Americans in order to accomplish this. Would not our Conservative line perhaps be that much stronger today if all such efforts had been united and concentrated, if not locally, then nationally, on Senator Welker and Governor Lee?

During the past few years there have been several "This is It" feelings but all have disappeared; therefore I cannot help but agree with Senator Jenner that "it is the little Congressional District back home" that will be our salvation; however . . . he insists it can only be done through hard work and sacrifice. That, in my humble opinion, is the reason why there are so few takers.

New York City HELEN F. FOX
Greater New York Unit, Abraham Lincoln National Republican Club

. . . We particularly applaud the magnificent coverage of the Chicago meeting of the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club in Mr. Revilo Oliver's article. He rightly estimates the dreamy political absent-mindedness and apathy which has put the people to sleep as far as appreciating what has really happened to their country, thus retarding their awakening to take effective measures. . . .

Washington, D.C. C. C. WARFIELD
Chairman, Voters USA

College Student Welcomes Truth

I have been reading your stimulating and thought-provoking magazine for less than a year and I am looking forward to many more informed years. Being a college student I especially enjoy the "Ivory Tower" columns. It is refreshing . . . to read the truth.

Oxford, Ohio KAREN ANN FADELEY

Dr. Kirk's Essays

I am looking forward to distributing the reprints of Mr. Russell Kirk's article. I consider the learned doctor and his essays or observations a welcome light amidst the plethora of pallid, pasty "chalk and water" that passes for "think pieces" in our sorry age of mediocrity.

Jamestown, N.Y. WILLIAM D. JOYCE

On Euthanasia

I cannot agree with Irving G. Stetson concerning euthanasia in the February 23 Letters Column.

The power to cure is the power to progress. Many so-called "incurables" are healthy and living among our society today. Law or no law, "mercy killing" has no place in our American way of life. Think of the many incurables that would have been disposed of prior to the smallpox, typhoid, tetanus, polio vaccinations and inoculations. . . .

Nashua, N.H. EUGENE E. DE PONTBRIAND

Freudian Slip

In printing my letter on the Bill of Rights Fund in your issue of February 16, NATIONAL REVIEW changed an important word.

In my original letter I said, "The Bill of Rights Fund is glad to take all proper credit for financially assisting the legal defense of many of the defendants." The printed version reads "*its* defendants." This perpetuates the impression that the Bill of Rights Fund is responsible for the litigation. Actually the Fund's function is to give aid in cases already initiated.

New York City CORLISS LAMONT

Mr. Schlamm's Criticism

My gratitude and congratulations to William S. Schlamm for his probing and antiseptic remarks. I have been especially delighted with his reviews of *Baby Doll* and *The Waltz of the Toreadors*. He has an acute sense of criticism, the nose of a bird dog, and a constructive sense of humor in the true meaning of that word. . . .

Vail's Gate, N.Y. BURKE BOYCE

How to Find It

Letters to the Editor

(and everything else printed in NATIONAL REVIEW from November 1955 through December 1956) are listed by subject, writer and page, with cross-references, in the

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